

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

S. N. D. NORTH, DIRECTOR

BULLETIN 96

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

1887-1906



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- *3. Street and electric railways.
4. A discussion of increase of population.
- *5. Central electric light and power stations.
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NOTE.—Bulletins in this list, except those marked with an asterisk (*), may be obtained upon application to the Director of the Census.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR,
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS,
Washington, D. C., December 15, 1908.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a bulletin on marriage and divorce.

A compilation of data relating to these subjects covering the years 1887 to 1906 inclusive has been made by this Bureau in conformity to a joint resolution of Congress approved February 9, 1905. This is the second statistical investigation of this character which the Federal Government has authorized, the earlier one covering the twenty years from 1867 to 1886 inclusive, being made by the Department (now Bureau) of Labor.

The complete report, which presents in full detail the statistics for the twenty years covered by this investigation and also in more summary form the statistics compiled at the earlier investigation, is being issued in two parts. Part II, containing the extended tables, has already been published, while Part I, containing the text discussion of the statistics, a summary of the laws relating to marriage and divorce in the United States, and also of the laws and statistics relating to these subjects in foreign countries, is nearly ready for publication.

The present investigation was conducted under the supervision of Mr. William C. Hunt, chief statistician for population in this Bureau, with the advice and cooperation of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, who, as Commissioner of Labor, prepared the former report on this subject. The bulletin herewith submitted was prepared by Dr. Joseph A. Hill, chief of the division of revision and results in this Bureau.

Very respectfully,



Director.

Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUS,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

By JOSEPH A. HILL, Ph. D.

The compilation of statistics of marriage and divorce which has just been completed by the Bureau of the Census covers a period of 20 years—from 1887 to 1906, inclusive. It is the second statistical investigation of this character authorized by the Federal Government, the earlier inquiry being carried out through the agency of the Department (now Bureau) of Labor.

The former inquiry, like the present, covered a period of 20 years—from 1867 to 1886, inclusive—so that, taken together, the two investigations comprise a compilation of the marriage and divorce statistics of the United States for a period of 40 years.

A detailed report presenting the results of the present inquiry, and including also a summarization of figures presented in the former report, which is now out of print, will be published at an early date. In the meantime this bulletin has been prepared with a view to presenting at once a summary of the results with as much detail as will perhaps be desired by the general public, the full report being available for special students and investigators.

The statistics of marriages for a few states were copied from published state reports; and elsewhere were compiled from the records of county clerks or other registration officials. The divorce statistics were compiled from the records of the courts granting divorces.

The area covered by this inquiry was restricted to continental United States, no attempt being made to compile statistics for Alaska, Hawaii, or any other outlying territory.

MARRIAGE STATISTICS.

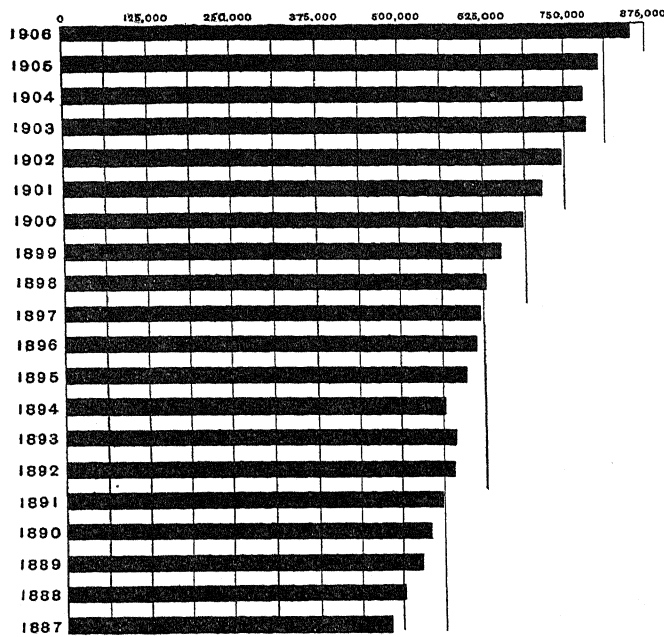
The statistics of marriages are confined to a mere enumeration of the number of marriages. It was

not deemed practicable to compile any details such as the ages of the contracting parties, prior marital status, place of birth, etc. At the former investigation, covering the years 1867 to 1886, marriage returns were secured for only 1,728 out of 2,627 counties, or about two-thirds of the total number. The returns secured by the present investigation were much more complete. Out of 2,803 counties, not including those in the state of South Carolina, where no marriages are recorded, there were only 164 for which the returns were not complete and only 28 for which they were entirely lacking.

The total number of marriages recorded by the present investigation was 12,832,044. The number recorded for each year with the increase, as compared with the preceding year, is shown in the following table:

YEAR.	MARRIAGES.	
	Number.	Increase over preceding year.
Total.....	12,832,044	.....
1906.....	853,290	48,503
1905.....	804,787	23,642
1904.....	781,145	14,987
1903.....	786,132	39,399
1902.....	746,733	30,112
1901.....	716,621	31,337
1900.....	685,284	34,674
1899.....	650,610	24,955
1898.....	625,655	3,305
1897.....	622,350	8,477
1896.....	613,873	15,013
1895.....	598,855	32,694
1894.....	566,161	¹ 12,612
1893.....	378,673	803
1892.....	377,870	15,453
1891.....	562,412	19,375
1890.....	542,537	11,080
1889.....	531,457	26,927
1888.....	504,530	21,461
1887.....	483,069	.....

¹ Decrease.

DIAGRAM 1.—*Annual number of marriages: 1887 to 1906.*

It is a well-established fact that the marriage rate is quickly responsive to changes in economic conditions, increasing in periods of prosperity and declining after a commercial crisis or panic, or during "hard times." The fluctuations in the annual increase in the number of marriages shown in the preceding table are significant of this tendency. Especially noteworthy is the small increase shown for the year 1893, and the actual decrease in the succeeding year. Undoubtedly this reflects the influence of the financial panic of 1892. In the third year following (1895) there was an exceptionally large increase, which, not improbably, represented the accumulation of marriages temporarily postponed. But even this large increase apparently did not make good the falling off occasioned by the panic; for in the 5 years ending with 1892 the annual increase in marriages was about 19,000, and had that increase continued for the next 3 years the number of marriages in 1895 would have been 635,000. This is greater by about 36,000 than the number actually recorded. After 1895 the increase again declined to something like a normal figure in 1896, and to an abnormally small figure in 1898.

If the average annual increase in marriages during the 5 years ending with 1892 had continued for the next 6 years, the aggregate number of marriages contracted during the latter period would have been 3,865,380, whereas, in fact, it was only 3,605,567—a deficiency of 259,813. It may be presumed that a large propor-

tion of the persons represented by this difference never contracted marriage. This suggests a loss to the community, not ordinarily thought of in considering the effects of periods of financial depression.

After the year 1898 come 5 years of large annual increases coinciding with a period of commercial prosperity. Perhaps this represents in part a recovery of ground lost during the preceding period. The decrease of 1904 again reflects the recurrence of a financial panic, less violent than that of 1892, and of briefer duration. In 1905 there was a normal increase; and our record closes with the year 1906 in which the increase was greater than in any other year during the 20-year period.

Marriage rates.—This investigation provides for the first time an adequate basis for computing a marriage rate for the entire United States, and for each state and territory. It is true that the returns were not complete in all parts of the country. Certain counties are lacking for one or more years.¹ But for the purpose of computing rates these counties may be eliminated, i. e., their population can be deducted from the total population on which the marriage rate is based, and the deficient number of marriages reported in these counties can similarly be deducted from the total number of marriages. There still remain the unknown deficiencies, which may have resulted from negligence in keeping the records in counties where the returns are ostensibly complete. These deficiencies can not be eliminated, but, it is believed, they are not serious enough to destroy the statistical value of the rates as computed.

For the year 1900 the marriage rate based on the total population of continental United States, and including the total number of marriages reported, was 90 per 10,000 population, or 9 per 1,000 population. Excluding those counties for which marriage returns were lacking or incomplete, the rate becomes 9.3 per 1,000 population—a difference not very material. For 1890 these rates are respectively 8.7 and 9.1 per 1,000 population, indicating an increase in the marriage rate in the decade 1890 to 1900.

More significant are marriage rates based on the adult unmarried population, including, that is, the single, widowed, and divorced. For the United States the marriage rate per 1,000 unmarried population 15 years of age and over is 32.1, which would mean that in each year something over 3 per cent of the unmarried adult population marry.

¹ The number of counties for which the returns are lacking for one or more years is shown on page 30.

CENSUS.	Total popu- lation.	Unmarried population 15 years of age and over.	MARRIAGES: ANNUAL AVERAGE. ¹		
			Total.	Per 10,000 population.	Per 10,000 unmarried population 15 years of age and over.
	UNCORRECTED TOTALS.				
1900 - - - - -	75,994,575	21,959,038	684,981	90	312
1890 - - - - -	² 62,947,714	³ 18,073,009	548,779	87	304
	EXCLUSIVE OF COUNTIES FOR WHICH MARRIAGE RETURNS ARE LACKING OR INCOMPLETE.				
1900 - - - - -	73,385,121	⁴ 21,261,642	682,640	93	321
1890 - - - - -	² 59,313,546	⁴ 17,029,598	538,891	91	316

¹ For the 5-year period of which the census year was the median year.

² Includes population of Indian Territory and Indian reservations.

³ Includes the estimated population of Indian Territory and Indian reservations.

⁴ Estimated.

The marriage rates are higher in the South than in the North. Outside the South the highest marriage rates prevail in the middle West.

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION.	Marriage rate per 10,000 adult unmarried population: 1900.
Continental United States.....	321
North Atlantic division.....	260
South Atlantic division.....	350
North Central division.....	322
South Central division.....	436
Western division.....	273

Of the states and territories Indian Territory has the highest marriage rate (55.5 per 1,000 unmarried adult population) and California the lowest (22.8). (See Table 5.) It should be noted, however, that the rate for California is for the state exclusive of San Francisco county, where the records were destroyed by the earthquake in 1906.¹ Ten states or territories had a marriage rate in excess of 40 per 1,000 unmarried adult population: Tennessee (40.4), Georgia (42.2), Utah (43), Alabama (43.7), Mississippi (45.9), Oklahoma (46), Florida (46.8), Texas (47.5), Arkansas (54.4), and Indian Territory (55.5). Six states had a rate below 25: Wyoming (24.9), Massachusetts (24.7), Montana (24.6), Delaware (23.6), Connecticut (23.2), and California (22.8). It is not improbable that the rates may be affected in some degree by variations in the completeness with which marriages are recorded in different states and territories.

¹ Recent marriage returns for California compiled by the state registrar give a marriage rate of 115 per 10,000 estimated population in 1907. This would indicate that the rate based on unmarried adult population would be about 30 per 10,000.

COUNTRY.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS MARRYING ANNUALLY.			
	1896 to 1905. ¹		1886 to 1895.	
	Per 10,000 population.	Per 10,000 marriageable population.	Per 10,000 population.	Per 10,000 marriageable population.
Austria.....	159	562	157	530
Bavaria.....	158	517	144	471
Belgium.....	172	553	146	453
Denmark.....	146	508	139	501
England and Wales.....	158	531	149	529
Finland.....	139	479	137	497
France.....	152	513	146	482
Hungary proper.....	169	798	179	996
Ireland.....	101	253	91	241
Italy.....	145	541	152	546
Netherlands.....	149	520	142	496
Norway.....	128	490	129	443
Prussia.....	165	616	162	591
Russia.....	164	.....	.....	.....
Saxony.....	177	700	180	698
Scotland.....	143	432	133	421
Spain.....	162	.....	147	.....
Sweden.....	120	377	118	398
Switzerland.....	152	454	143	423
United States.....	186	714	182	709
Ontario, Canada.....	165	.....	.....	.....
Manitoba, Canada.....	161	.....	.....	.....
British Columbia, Canada.....	125	.....	.....	.....
Australia.....	146	464	140	462
New South Wales.....	153	498	140	479
Victoria.....	139	432	141	439
Queensland.....	132	418	146	477
South Australia.....	128	421	131	479
Western Australia.....	204	556	154	433
Tasmania.....	153	520	126	457

¹ For the United States the rate is based on the average annual number of marriages, 1898 to 1902; for Canada, on the number reported in the year 1901; for Russia, on the average annual number, 1893 to 1902, and the census of 1897; for the Australian states, on the average annual number, 1900 to 1902.

In the above table still another basis for marriage rates has been introduced for the purpose of comparison with the statistics of foreign countries. This is the number of persons marrying in proportion to the marriageable population. The number of persons marrying is, of course, twice the number of marriages, and whatever population basis may be adopted, a rate obtained by using the former number will be simply twice the rate obtained by using the latter. The "marriageable population" employed in obtaining the above rates includes all unmarried (single, widowed, or divorced) males 18 years of age and over, and all unmarried females 15 years of age and over. There is a basis for an age distinction both in law and in custom. The legal marriageable age is usually younger for women and they usually marry younger. The above age limits correspond to the legal marriageable age in France and some other European countries. In computing the rate for the United States, it has been assumed that all males under 18 are single. The exact facts can not be ascertained because in the Census reports the marital condition of the population is not shown by single years of age, but only by 5-year periods, 15 to 19, 20 to 24, etc.

For the period 1886 to 1895 the marriage rate based on total population is higher in the United States than in any other country for which figures are

presented in the preceding table, but based on marriageable population the rate in the United States is not so high as it is in Hungary and is hardly higher than in Saxony. For the period 1896 to 1905 the marriage rate based on total population is higher in Western Australia than in the United States; based on marriageable population the rate is again higher in the United States than in any other country for which figures are given except Hungary, while Saxony is as before the country which ranks next to the United States.

DIVORCE STATISTICS.

The court records, from which the divorce statistics were compiled, are not, of course, kept with any special reference to the requirements of the statistician. Nevertheless, it was found practicable to compile from these records many facts which have great value for the purpose of a sociological or statistical study of the subject of divorce. The facts called for by the schedules or cards used in compiling the divorce data were the following:

1. State or country in which married.
2. Date of marriage.
3. Date of separation.
4. Date of filing petition.
5. Who was libellant?
6. How was notice served?
7. Was case contested?
8. Was decree granted?
9. Date of decree or judgment.
10. Number of years married.
11. Cause for which divorced.
12. If not direct, was intemperance an indirect cause?
13. Kind of divorce.
14. Number of children.
15. Was alimony asked?
16. Was alimony granted?
17. Occupation of parties.
18. Residence of libellee.

Fairly complete and satisfactory returns were secured for all these items of inquiry except that relating to occupations. The occupation of the husband was recorded in only about one-fourth of the total number of divorces. Naturally an occupation return for the wife was still more rare, because of the probability that she had no industrial employment in a great majority of the cases.

Divorce returns for the present investigation are entirely lacking for only 6 counties. But there were other counties in which the record is lacking or incomplete for one or more years.

Increase in divorces.—The total number of divorces returned by this investigation, which covers the 20 years from 1887 to 1906, inclusive, was 945,625. In the preceding investigation, covering the 20 years from 1867 to 1886, inclusive, the number reported was 328,716, or hardly more than one-third (34.8 per cent) of the number recorded in the second 20 years. In

each instance the returns for a few counties in the United States were lacking, either entirely or for a part of the period, usually because of the destruction of the records by fire or other cause. These omissions are not believed to be serious enough to impair the statistical value of the totals for the United States or for the individual states.

The increase in the number of divorces in continental United States in each successive 5-year period was as follows:

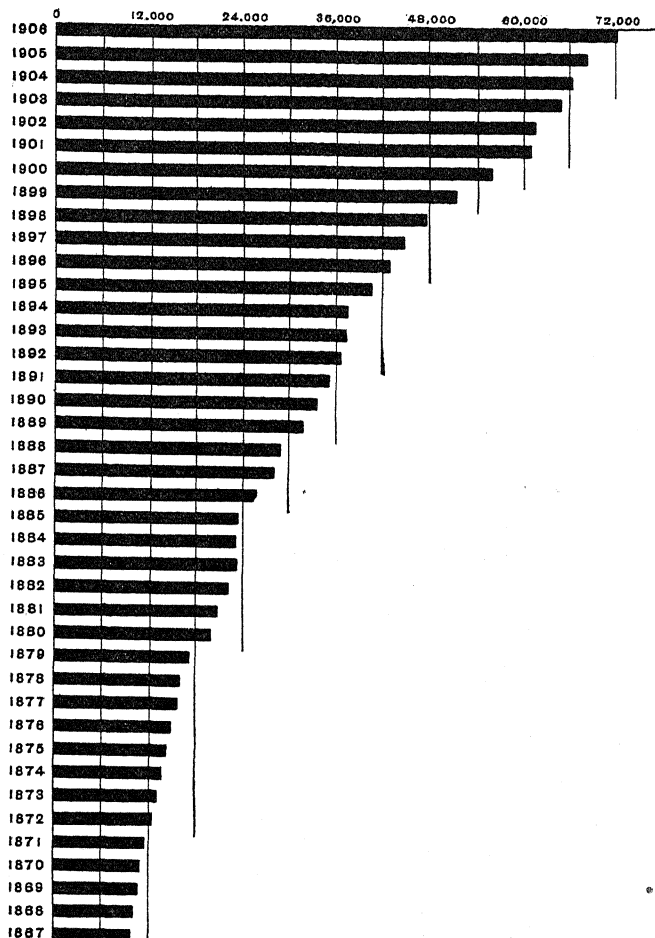
PERIOD OF YEARS.	DIVORCES.		
	Total number.	Increase over preceding 5-year period.	
		Number.	Per cent.
1902 to 1906.....	332,642	71,922	27.6
1897 to 1901.....	260,720	65,781	33.7
1892 to 1896.....	194,939	37,615	23.9
1887 to 1891.....	157,324	40,013	34.1
1882 to 1886.....	117,311	28,027	31.4
1877 to 1881.....	89,284	20,737	30.3
1872 to 1876.....	68,547	14,973	27.9
1867 to 1871.....	53,574		

These statistics indicate that the normal rate of increase in each 5-year period is about 30 per cent. The smallest percentage of increase is that shown for the 5 years 1892 to 1896. This, it will be remembered, was a period of commercial depression and "hard times." The fact that in such periods the increase of divorces is checked or retarded was clearly indicated by a study based upon the statistics obtained by the former investigation. (See *A Study in Vital Statistics*, by Walter F. Willcox, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. VIII.) It is best shown by the variations in the annual increase in the number of divorces. The effect of commercial crises upon the figures is very apparent, although not fully accounting, perhaps, for all the variations in the amount of the annual increase.

YEAR.	DIVORCES.		YEAR.	DIVORCES.	
	Total number.	Increase over preceding year.		Total number.	Increase over preceding year.
1906.....	72,062	4,086	1886.....	25,535	2,063
1905.....	67,976	1,777	1885.....	23,472	478
1904.....	66,199	1,274	1884.....	22,994	1,204
1903.....	64,925	3,445	1883.....	23,188	1,086
1902.....	61,480	496	1882.....	22,112	1,350
1901.....	60,984	5,233	1881.....	20,762	1,099
1900.....	55,751	4,314	1880.....	19,663	2,580
1899.....	51,437	3,588	1879.....	17,083	934
1898.....	47,849	3,150	1878.....	16,089	402
1897.....	44,699	1,762	1877.....	15,087	588
1896.....	42,937	2,550	1876.....	14,800	223
1895.....	40,387	2,819	1875.....	14,212	823
1894.....	37,568	100	1874.....	13,989	766
1893.....	37,468	889	1873.....	13,156	804
1892.....	36,579	1,039	1872.....	12,350	624
1891.....	35,540	2,079	1871.....	11,586	23
1890.....	33,461	1,726	1870.....	10,962	789
1889.....	31,735	3,066	1869.....	10,939	213
1888.....	28,669	750	1868.....	10,150	
1887.....	27,919	2,384	1867.....	9,937	

¹ Decrease.

DIAGRAM 2.—Annual number of divorces: 1867 to 1906.



It is natural to inquire how the increase in the number of divorces compares with the increase in population. The comparison for census years is shown in the following tabular statement:

CENSUS YEAR.	DIVORCES.			POPULATION.			Popu- lation to one divorce.	Di- vorces per 100,000 popu- lation.
	Total num- ber.	Increase over preceding census year.		Total.	Increase over preceding census year.			
		Num- ber.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.		
1900.....	55,751	22,290	66.6	75,994,575	13,046,861	20.7	1,363	73
1890.....	33,461	13,798	70.2	62,947,714	12,791,931	25.5	1,881	53
1880.....	19,663	8,701	79.4	50,155,783	11,597,412	30.1	2,551	39
1870.....	10,962	.....	.....	38,558,371	.....	.....	3,517	28

¹ Includes population of Indian Territory and Indian reservations, specially enumerated.

The number of divorces granted in the year 1870 was 10,962; in 1880 it was 19,663, an increase of 79.4 per cent. Population in the same interval increased only 30.1 per cent. The percentage of increase both for divorces and for population shows a decline in the two succeeding decades—1880 to 1890 and 1890 to 1900. But as compared with the growth of population, the increase in divorces was greatest in the last

decade, the percentage of increase for divorces (66.6) being then more than three times that for population (20.7), whereas in the decade 1870 to 1880, the former percentage (79.4) was only about two and two-thirds times the latter (30.1).

The preceding table is confined to census years, these being the only years in which the population of the United States is definitely known. The statistics of divorce, however, come down to the year 1906; and the population for quinquennial years may be estimated with a sufficient approach to accuracy for the purpose of this comparison, as is done in the following table:

YEAR.	DIVORCES.			POPULATION.			Population to one divorce.	Divorces per 100,000 population.
	Annual average. ¹	Increase.		Total.	Increase.			
		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.		
1905.	67,791	12,289	22.1	* 82,574,195	6,579,620	8.7	1,218	82
1900.	55,502	14,890	30.7	75,994,575	6,523,431	9.4	1,369	73
1895.	40,612	7,415	22.3	* 69,471,144	6,523,430	10.4	1,711	58
1890.	33,197	8,573	34.8	* 62,947,714	6,395,966	11.3	1,896	53
1885.	24,024	5,481	28.6	* 56,551,748	6,395,965	12.8	2,297	44
1880.	19,143	4,774	33.2	50,155,783	5,798,706	13.1	2,620	38
1875.	14,369	3,162	28.2	* 44,357,077	5,798,706	15.0	3,087	32
1870.	11,207		28.2	38,558,371			3,441	29

¹ The average is that of the 5-year period of which the year given is the median year except that for 1905, which is the average of the 4 years 1903 to 1906, inclusive.

² Estimated.

³ Includes population of Indian Territory and Indian reservations.

In the above table the population for 1905 is that obtained by the method of estimating adopted by the Census Bureau; the estimated population for the earlier intercensal quinquennial years is obtained by adding one-half the decennial increase to the population enumerated at the preceding census.

Divorce rates.—The fact that divorces have increased more rapidly than population means, of course, that they are more numerous in proportion to population than they were formerly, thus confirming the popular impression that divorce is becoming more common. The divorce rate, based upon population, is shown in the last two columns of the above table. The ratio is expressed in two ways, first by giving the population to each divorce, and then by giving the number of divorces in every 100,000 of population. The one ratio is, of course, reducible to the other.

The divorce rate based on total population was almost three (or more accurately two and five-eighths) times as great in 1905 as it was in 1870. The contrast may perhaps be more effectively presented as follows: If the number of divorces in proportion to population had been the same in 1905 as it was in 1870 the absolute number of divorces reported in 1905 would have been only 24,000, whereas it was, in fact, 67,791. In 1906 the actual number was 72,062, while the ratio of 1870 would have resulted in only 24,398.

A more significant divorce rate perhaps is that based upon the married population. This rate is as follows:

CENSUS YEAR.	Married population.	Divorces, annual average. ¹	Married population to one divorce.	Divorces per 100,000 married population.
1900.....	27,770,101	55,502	500	200
1890.....	² 22,447,769	33,197	676	148
1880.....	³ 17,908,092	19,143	935	107
1870.....	³ 13,823,708	11,207	1,233	81

¹ For the 5-year period of which the census year was the median year.

² Includes estimated married population of Indian Territory and of Indian reservations.

³ Estimated.

The rates based upon married population are, of course, much larger than those based upon total population. But in general the movement of divorce, as shown by the two sets of rates, is substantially the same. Based upon married population the divorce rate in 1900 was two and one-half times as great as it was in 1870; and the same increase is shown by the rates as based upon total population.

The divorce rate in 1900 was 200 per 100,000 married population, or 2 per 1,000 married population. It may be assumed that 1,000 married people represent approximately 500 married couples. If there were no absentee husbands or wives they would represent exactly that number. The divorce rate per 1,000 married couples, therefore, is approximately 4; that is to say, 4 married couples out of every 1,000 were being divorced annually at the period represented by the figures for the year 1900. Ten years before that the divorce rate was 148 per 100,000 married population, or approximately 3 per 1,000 married couples. In 1880 the rate was 107 per 100,000 (estimated) married population, or about 2 per 1,000 married couples; in 1870 it was only 81 per 1,000 (estimated) married population, which is equivalent to about 1½ divorces per 1,000 married couples.

It is not easy to account for the wide variations in the divorce rates in different states and territories (see Table 7, page 42). The results are affected by a great variety of influences. The composition of population as regards race or nationality; the proportion of immigrants in the total population, and the countries from which they came; the relative strength of the prevailing religions, and particularly that of the Catholic faith; the variations in divorce laws and in the procedure and practice of the courts granting divorce; the interstate migration of population, either for the purpose of obtaining a divorce or for economic or other reasons not connected with divorce—all these are factors which probably affect the divorce rate. It is perhaps natural to look first of all to the figures for the state of South Dakota. But the divorce rate in that state (270 per 100,000 married population) although above the average, is by no means the highest in the several states. It is hardly higher than in North Dakota (268), and

not as high as in Indiana (355), which has the highest divorce rate of any state east of the Mississippi. Still higher rates prevail in Texas (391) and in Arkansas (399). In general the rates are highest in the Western states, the highest rate shown for any state being that for the state of Washington (513). Next comes the state of Montana with a rate of 497, and then Colorado, where the rate is 409.

Classification with respect to libellant.—Almost exactly two-thirds, 66.6 per cent, of the total number of divorces granted in the period covered by this investigation were granted to the wife. In other words, the divorces obtained by the wife are twice as numerous as those obtained by the husband.

Without any reference to the question of which party is the more frequently responsible for the marital unhappiness that leads to divorce, it may be said that the wife has a legal ground for divorce more frequently than the husband; that is to say, although the law may make no distinction between the parties to a marriage as regards the grounds on which a divorce may be granted, there are certain well-known and comparatively common grounds that are more readily applicable as against the husband than as against the wife. Notably there is nonsupport or neglect to provide, which, for the husband seeking divorce, is not ordinarily an available ground, although the present investigation found 6 cases in the state of Utah in which the husband obtained a divorce for neglect to provide. Again, cruelty, although not infrequently the ground for divorces granted to husbands is, at least so far as it is physical cruelty, more often existent as a cause for the wife's seeking a divorce. Five divorces for cruelty are granted to the wife for every 1 granted to the husband. (See page 14.)

YEAR.	DIVORCES.				
	Total number.	Granted to husband.		Granted to wife.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
1887 to 1906.....	945,625	316,149	33.4	629,476	66.6
1906.....	72,062	23,455	32.5	48,607	67.5
1905.....	67,976	22,220	32.7	45,756	67.3
1904.....	66,199	22,189	33.5	44,010	66.5
1903.....	64,325	21,321	32.8	43,004	67.2
1902.....	61,480	20,056	32.6	41,424	67.4
1901.....	60,984	20,008	32.8	40,976	67.2
1900.....	55,751	18,620	33.4	37,131	66.6
1899.....	51,437	16,925	32.9	34,512	67.1
1898.....	47,849	15,988	33.4	31,861	66.6
1897.....	44,699	14,765	33.0	29,934	67.0
1896.....	42,937	14,448	33.6	28,489	66.4
1895.....	40,387	13,456	33.3	26,931	66.7
1894.....	37,568	12,551	33.4	25,017	66.6
1893.....	37,468	12,590	33.6	24,878	66.4
1892.....	36,579	12,577	34.4	24,002	65.6
1891.....	35,540	12,478	35.1	23,062	64.9
1890.....	33,461	11,625	34.7	21,836	65.3
1889.....	31,735	11,126	35.1	20,609	64.9
1888.....	28,669	10,022	35.0	18,647	65.0
1887.....	27,919	9,729	34.8	18,190	65.2
1867 to 1886.....	328,716	112,540	34.2	216,176	65.8
1882 to 1886.....	117,311	39,499	33.7	77,812	66.3
1877 to 1881.....	89,284	30,786	34.5	58,498	65.5
1872 to 1876.....	68,547	23,130	33.7	45,417	66.3
1867 to 1871.....	53,574	19,125	35.7	34,449	64.3

The proportion of divorces granted to husband and wife, respectively, remained very constant throughout the 40 years from 1867 to 1906, as is shown by the preceding table. But the returns by states show wide variations as between different sections of the country. (See Table 12, page 49.) In the North Atlantic division the percentage of divorces granted to wives in the period 1887 to 1906 is 68.8; in the North Central division it is 71.7; and in the Western, 72.3. But in the South Atlantic division it is only 53.1, and in the South Central 56.2. In many of the Southern states more divorces are granted to husbands than to wives.

The range of variation for the Northern and Western states extends from a percentage of 59 for North Dakota to a percentage of 78.2 for Rhode Island. For the Southern states, exclusive of the District of Columbia, the percentages range from 41.6 for Mississippi to 66.4 for Tennessee. The percentage is higher than that for Tennessee in every Northern and Western state except Missouri (65.6), New York (65.4), New Jersey (63.4), South Dakota (60.9), and North Dakota (59). The percentage is lower than that for North Dakota in every Southern state except Texas (60.3), Indian Territory (61.4), Oklahoma (63), Maryland (63.4), Delaware (64.9), Tennessee (66.4), and District of Columbia (72.8).

It is natural to inquire whether a contrast between the North and South, such as that here noted, may not be attributed to the influence of the negro population upon the figures for the South. It was not found possible to distinguish and tabulate separately the divorces granted to negroes, but it is reasonably certain that they form a large proportion of the total number of divorces granted in Southern states. It has been estimated that the proportion is not much below 75 per cent. This estimate is based largely upon the statements of court clerks and divorce lawyers in Southern states regarding the relative frequency of the divorces granted to the two races.¹ If it is correct or approximately correct, the divorce statistics of the South must reflect, to a large degree, conditions prevailing among negroes.

A study of figures by years indicates, however, that the difference between the North and South, as regards the proportion of divorces granted to wives, was about as marked in 1867—the earliest year for which we have statistics—as it is at the present time. It is

¹ The above estimate acquires a certain degree of confirmation from the fact that of the total number of divorced persons reported for Southern states (South Atlantic and South Central divisions) at Twelfth Census (1900), 51.1 per cent were negroes. In Mississippi the percentage reaches 83.6; in South Carolina, 80.5; and in Alabama, 73.8. It is generally assumed, however, that the number of divorced persons was deficient because of the probability that many persons who were divorced reported themselves as single, or as widowed; and it may be that this deficiency affected the figures for the white divorced population more than those for the negro.

hard to believe that divorces among negroes could have attained much importance at that early date, and, therefore, the inference is that the difference would probably obtain in a comparison restricted to white population. In general white women in the Northern states have a greater degree of economic independence than their southern sisters; i. e., they have more opportunities to obtain employment, and are more accustomed to the idea of earning their own living. This may influence their attitude towards divorce, by making them less dependent upon their husbands for support, and more ready to dissolve the marriage tie when it becomes a cause of unhappiness or suffering.

In connection with this question the occupation figures of the Twelfth Census are significant, not as explaining directly the difference noted between the North and South, but as indicating that a large proportion of the women who have been divorced take up some occupation. Of the total number of divorced women enumerated at that census 55.3 per cent had some gainful occupation. The percentage is higher than for any other marital class, as the following tabular statement indicates:

MARITAL CONDITION.	FEMALE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: CENSUS OF 1900.		
	Total.	Breadwinners.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Total	24,293,163	5,007,069	20.6
Single ¹	7,614,610	3,309,665	43.5
Married	13,842,180	775,924	5.6
Widowed	2,721,438	857,922	31.5
Divorced	114,935	63,558	55.3

¹ Including those whose marital condition was unknown.

Causes of divorce.—The most common single ground for divorce is desertion. This accounts for 38.9 per cent of all divorces (period 1887 to 1906); 49.4 per cent, or almost one-half, of those granted to the husband, and 33.6 per cent, or one-third, of those granted to the wife.

The next most important ground of divorce is for husbands, adultery, and for wives, cruelty. Of the divorces granted to husbands (1887 to 1906) 28.7 per cent were for adultery of the wife; and of those granted to wives 27.5 per cent were for cruelty on part of the husband. Only 10 per cent of the divorces granted to wives were for adultery of the husband; and 10.5 per cent of divorces granted to husbands were for cruelty on part of the wife.

Drunkenness was the alleged sole ground for divorce in 5.3 per cent of the cases in which the wife brought suit, and in 1.1 per cent of the cases in which the suit was brought by the husband.

CAUSE.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.					
	Total.		Granted to husband.		Granted to wife.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
All causes.....	945,625	100.0	316,149	100.0	629,476	100.0
Adultery.....	153,759	16.3	90,890	28.7	62,869	10.0
Cruelty.....	206,225	21.8	33,178	10.5	173,047	27.5
Desertion.....	367,502	38.9	156,283	49.4	211,219	33.6
Drunkenness.....	36,516	3.9	3,436	1.1	33,080	5.3
Neglect to provide.....	34,670	3.7	6	(¹)	34,664	5.5
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.....	88,849	9.4	14,330	4.5	74,519	11.8
All other causes.....	58,104	6.1	18,026	5.7	40,078	6.4
Causes specified.....	28,129	4.0	9,825	3.1	28,304	4.5
Cause unknown.....	19,975	2.1	8,201	2.6	11,774	1.9

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

A comparison for quinquennial periods, shown in the table below, reveals some change in the relative importance of the principal causes of divorce.

The per cent of divorces granted for adultery was smaller at the end than at the beginning of the 20-year period, and the proportion granted for cruelty was larger. It is interesting to note that in no other class of divorces has the percentage of increase been so marked as in those granted to the husband for cruelty. An increase of 238 per cent means that in the last 5 years of the 20-year period these divorces were 3½ times as numerous as they were in the first 5 years.

The class which shows the next greatest increase consists of those granted to the wife for neglect to provide; and next in importance, as regards rate of increase, come the divorces granted to the wife for cruelty.

CAUSE.	DIVORCES.									
	1902 to 1906.		1897 to 1901.		1892 to 1896.		1887 to 1891.		Increase 1902 to 1906 as compared with 1887 to 1891.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent.
All causes.....	109,241	100.0	86,306	100.0	65,622	100.0	54,980	100.0	54,261	98.7
Adultery.....	29,526	27.0	24,269	28.1	19,956	30.4	17,139	31.2	12,387	72.3
Cruelty.....	13,678	12.5	9,385	10.9	6,068	9.2	4,047	7.4	9,631	238.0
Desertion.....	54,142	49.6	43,186	50.0	31,805	48.5	27,150	49.4	26,992	99.4
Drunkenness.....	1,093	1.0	986	1.1	765	1.2	592	1.1	501	84.6
Neglect to provide.....	3	(¹)	1	(¹)	2	(¹)	—	—	3	(¹)
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.....	4,805	4.4	3,681	4.3	3,190	4.9	2,654	4.8	2,151	81.0
All other causes ²	5,994	5.5	4,798	5.6	3,836	5.8	3,398	6.2	2,596	76.4
GRANTED TO HUSBAND.										
All causes.....	223,401	100.0	174,414	100.0	129,317	100.0	102,344	100.0	121,057	118.3
Adultery.....	21,360	9.6	16,915	9.7	13,714	10.6	10,880	10.6	10,480	96.3
Cruelty.....	64,541	28.9	48,797	28.0	34,509	26.7	26,200	24.6	39,341	156.1
Desertion.....	74,018	33.1	58,382	33.5	43,153	33.4	35,666	34.8	38,352	107.5
Drunkenness.....	11,942	5.3	8,828	5.1	6,913	5.3	6,397	5.3	6,545	121.3
Neglect to provide.....	12,779	5.7	10,423	6.0	6,857	5.3	4,605	4.5	8,174	177.5
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.....	25,013	11.2	19,979	11.5	15,757	12.2	13,770	13.5	11,243	81.6
All other causes ²	13,748	6.2	11,090	6.4	8,414	6.5	6,826	6.7	6,922	101.4
GRANTED TO WIFE.										

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

² Includes cause unknown.

The following table gives the proportion of divorces granted to husband and wife under each principal cause:

CAUSE.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.					
	Total number.	Granted to husband.		Granted to wife.		
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
All causes.....	945,625	316,149	33.4	629,476	66.6	
Adultery.....	153,759	90,890	59.1	62,869	40.9	
Cruelty.....	206,225	33,178	16.1	173,047	83.9	
Desertion.....	367,502	156,283	42.5	211,219	57.5	
Drunkenness.....	36,516	3,436	9.4	33,080	90.6	
Neglect to provide.....	34,670	6	(¹)	34,664	100.0	
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.....	88,849	14,330	16.1	74,519	83.9	
All other causes.....	58,104	18,026	31.0	40,078	69.0	
Causes specified.....	28,129	9,825	25.8	28,304	74.2	
Cause unknown.....	19,975	8,201	41.1	11,774	58.9	

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Of the common grounds of divorce adultery is the only one for which the number of divorces granted to the husband exceeds the number granted to the wife. In 90,890, or 59.1 per cent of the total number of divorces granted on this ground alone, the offense was committed by the wife, and in 62,869, or 40.9 per cent of the total number, it was committed by the husband. The difference may be attributed to the probability that the offense when committed by the wife is less likely to be condoned and perhaps more likely to be discovered. In England, where every applicant for absolute divorce must prove adultery committed by the other party, the husband need prove this one offense only, while the wife must prove in addition some aggravating circumstance, such as cruelty or desertion. In this country the laws of the several states, with some exceptions, make no distinction between husband and wife in this respect. But public senti-

ment doubtless condemns the offense in the wife more strongly than in the husband, and possibly the courts are in some degree influenced thereby.

Intemperance as a cause of divorce.—Drunkenness, as already stated, was the sole cause of divorce in 36,516 cases, or 3.9 per cent of the total number of divorces (1887 to 1906). It was a cause in combination with some other cause in 17,765 cases, or 1.9 per cent of the total number. Therefore, it was a direct cause, either alone or in combination with other causes, in 54,281 cases, or 5.7 per cent of the total. Of divorces granted to the wife the percentage for drunkenness either alone or in combination with other causes was 7.9; of those granted to the husband, the corresponding percentage, 1.4.

The attempt was made to ascertain also the number of cases in which drunkenness or intemperance, although not a direct ground for the divorce, was an indirect or contributory cause. The number of such cases was returned as 130,287, representing 13.8 per cent of the total number of divorces. Probably this number includes those cases in which the fact of intemperance was alleged in the bill of complaint or established by the evidence, although not specified among the grounds for which the divorce was granted.

The remaining cases are those in which there was no reference to intemperance, or no evidence that intemperance existed as a contributory cause. In some of these cases the record was so meager that the absence of any mention of intemperance would justify no conclusions. But in the majority of instances it would create a strong presumption that intemperance did not exist or was not a contributory cause.

Intemperance was returned as an indirect cause in 14,878, or 4.7 per cent, of the divorces granted to husbands; and in 115,409, or 18.3 per cent, of the divorces granted to wives. It was a cause either direct or indirect in 6.1 per cent of divorces to husbands; and in 26.3 per cent, or more than one-fourth, of divorces to wives.

	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.					
	Total.		Granted to husband.		Granted to wife.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
All cases.....	945,625	100.0	316,149	100.0	629,476	100.0
Intemperance a direct or indirect cause.....	184,568	19.5	19,269	6.1	165,299	26.3
Direct.....	54,281	5.7	4,391	1.4	49,890	7.9
Separately.....	36,516	3.9	3,436	1.1	33,080	5.3
In combination..	17,765	1.9	955	0.3	16,810	2.7
Indirect.....	130,287	13.8	14,878	4.7	115,409	18.3
All other cases.....	761,057	80.5	296,880	93.9	464,177	73.7

The extent to which intemperance is present as a contributory cause in cases in which it was not a direct ground of divorce is shown by the following table:

DIRECT CAUSE.	DIVORCES (1887 TO 1906) IN WHICH INTEMPERANCE WAS NOT A DIRECT CAUSE.		
	Total number.	Intemperance returned as an indirect cause.	
		Number.	Percent.
GRANTED TO HUSBAND.			
All causes.....	311,758	14,878	4.8
Adultery.....	90,890	6,424	7.1
Cruelty.....	33,178	3,281	9.9
Desertion.....	156,283	3,398	2.2
Neglect to provide.....	6		
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.....	13,375	944	7.1
All other causes ¹	18,026	831	4.6
GRANTED TO WIFE.			
All causes.....	579,586	115,409	19.9
Adultery.....	62,869	8,720	13.9
Cruelty.....	173,047	56,051	32.4
Desertion.....	211,219	24,345	11.5
Neglect to provide.....	34,664	7,349	21.2
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.....	57,709	11,914	20.6
All other causes ¹	40,078	7,030	17.5

¹ Includes cause unknown.

It appears that intemperance existed as an indirect cause of divorce in 19.9 per cent, or nearly one-fifth, of the divorces granted to the wife on other grounds, and in 4.8 per cent of those similarly granted to the husband.

It was present as a contributory cause in 32.4 per cent, or one-third, of the cases in which the wife obtained a divorce on the ground of cruelty, and in 21.2 per cent, or one-fifth, of the divorces granted to wife for neglect to provide. It was of less consequence among the divorces granted to the wife for adultery and for desertion. The contrast as regards the influence of intemperance between divorces granted to husband and those granted to wife is very marked. But the difference is not so great in those cases where the divorce was granted for adultery as it is for the other principal grounds of divorce.

Contested cases.—Only 15.4 per cent of the divorces granted (1887 to 1906) were returned as contested, and probably in many of these cases the contesting was hardly more than a formality, perhaps not extending beyond the filing of an answer, which often has the effect of expediting the process of obtaining the divorce.

The proportion of contested cases is slightly larger for divorces granted to the wife than for those granted to the husband, which would indicate that the husband is more disposed to make a contest than the wife. But when divorces are classified by cause, it appears

that this holds true only of divorces granted on the ground of adultery. In all other classes the percentages indicate that the wife contests a divorce suit more frequently than the husband. The exception in case of divorces obtained on the ground of adultery may indicate that the wife, when accused of this offense and conscious of guilt, is more reluctant to submit to a divorce trial than the husband would be under similar circumstances, because such a trial usually involves publicity and public sentiment condemns this offense more severely in the wife than in the husband.

CAUSE AND PARTY TO WHICH GRANTED.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.						
	Total number.	Cases contested.		Cases not contested.		Unknown.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
All causes:							
Husband..	316,149	46,693	14.8	267,362	84.6	2,094	0.7
Wife.....	629,476	98,612	15.7	527,046	83.7	3,818	0.6
Adultery:							
Husband.....	90,890	13,153	14.5	77,373	85.1	364	0.4
Wife.....	62,869	11,470	18.2	50,986	81.1	413	0.7
Cruelty:							
Husband.....	33,178	9,566	28.8	23,532	70.9	80	0.2
Wife.....	173,047	43,268	25.0	129,252	74.7	527	0.3
Desertion:							
Husband.....	156,283	17,802	11.4	138,027	88.3	454	0.3
Wife.....	211,219	16,769	7.9	193,693	91.7	757	0.4
Drunkenness:							
Husband.....	3,436	698	20.3	2,736	79.6	2	0.1
Wife.....	33,080	4,612	13.9	28,368	85.8	100	0.3
Neglect to provide:							
Husband.....	6	2	(¹)	4	(¹)		
Wife.....	34,664	5,665	16.3	28,923	83.4	76	0.2
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.:							
Husband.....	14,330	2,092	14.6	12,170	84.9	68	0.5
Wife.....	74,519	10,621	14.3	63,615	85.4	283	0.4
All other causes: ²							
Husband.....	18,026	3,380	18.8	13,520	75.0	1,126	6.2
Wife.....	40,078	6,207	15.5	32,209	80.4	1,662	4.1

¹ Per cent not shown where base is less than 100.

² Includes cause unknown.

Divorces on the ground of cruelty are contested more frequently than those obtained for any of the other principal causes; while those for desertion show the smallest proportion of cases contested.

As shown by the following table the percentage of cases contested has increased slightly during the 40 years covered by the divorce statistics:

PERIOD OF YEARS.	DIVORCES.					
	Granted to husband.			Granted to wife.		
	Total number.	Contested.		Total number.	Contested.	
		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.
1887 to 1906.....	316,149	46,693	15.4	629,476	98,612	16.3
1902 to 1906.....	109,241	16,498	15.1	223,401	36,403	16.3
1897 to 1901.....	86,306	12,948	15.0	174,414	27,152	15.6
1892 to 1896.....	65,622	9,504	14.5	129,317	19,766	15.3
1887 to 1891.....	54,980	7,743	14.1	102,344	15,291	14.9

Divorces, in this investigation, have been divided, with respect to the form of service of notice upon the defendant or libellee, into two main classes—those in which notice was served personally and those in which

notice was by publication in the newspapers. The resulting classification, which is presented in the following table, is of interest in connection with the number and proportion of cases contested, also shown in this table:

	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906						
SERVICE OF NOTICE AND PARTY TO WHICH GRANTED.	Total number.	Cases contested.		Cases not contested.		Unknown.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
All cases.....	945,625	145,305	15.4	794,408	84.0	5,912	0.6
Husband..	316,149	46,693	14.8	267,362	84.6	2,094	0.7
Wife.....	629,476	98,612	15.7	527,046	83.7	3,818	0.6
Notice served per- sonally:							
All cases.....	666,257	135,753	20.4	528,535	79.3	1,969	0.3
Husband....	230,156	42,758	18.6	186,701	81.1	697	0.3
Wife.....	436,101	92,995	21.3	341,834	78.4	1,272	0.3
Notice served by publication:							
All cases.....	273,311	8,694	3.2	263,547	96.4	1,070	0.4
Husband....	83,881	3,684	4.4	79,908	95.3	289	0.3
Wife.....	189,430	5,010	2.6	183,639	96.9	781	0.4
Service unknown:							
All cases.....	6,057	858	14.2	2,326	38.4	2,873	47.4
Husband....	2,112	251	11.9	753	35.7	1,108	52.5
Wife.....	3,945	607	15.4	1,573	39.9	1,765	44.7

Of those divorces in which notice was served personally, 20.4 per cent were contested; while of those in which notice was by publication, only 3.2 per cent were contested. The difference should not be regarded as entirely due to the ineffectiveness or failure of the latter form of notification in reaching the party concerned. Notice by publication is usually confined to those cases in which the residence and address of the libellee are either unknown or are outside the state in which the suit is brought. It implies, therefore, an existing separation either of considerable duration or of considerable distance or both. Under such conditions, even though the notification reaches the libellee there is less likelihood of a contest than there would be if the parties resided in the same locality and had only recently separated.

RESIDENCE OF LIBELLE AND SERVICE OF NOTICE.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	945,625	100.0
Libellee residing—		
In state where divorce was granted.....	631,681	66.8
Outside the state.....	194,369	20.6
Notice served personally.....	41,492	4.4
Notice served by publication.....	152,521	16.1
Service unknown.....	356	(¹)
Residence of libellee unknown.....	119,575	12.6

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

There were 119,575 divorces granted where the residence of the libellee was unknown. It would seem

that the notification in these cases must necessarily have been by publication. There were 152,521 divorces in which the libellee resided outside the state and was notified by publication. The sum of these two numbers, 272,096, would account for all but 1,215 of the total number of notifications by publication. Of the 666,257 notices personally served, only 41,492 were served upon parties outside the state.

In other words, the two methods of notification are applied as a rule to different classes of cases, one to cases in which the residence of the libellee is known and is in the same state, and the other to cases where the residence of the libellee is either unknown or is outside the state. Even if the notice in both classes was effective in reaching the party for whom it is intended, it is probable that the percentage of contested cases would still be smaller for the latter class than for the former. At the same time it is also probable that notification by publication is ineffectual in a large proportion of cases, particularly when the residence of the libellee is unknown.

Residence of the libellee.—In only 66.8 per cent, or two-thirds, of the total number of divorce cases recorded by the present investigation (1887 to 1906) was the libellee, or defendant, a resident of the state where the divorce was granted. In the other cases the residence of the libellee was either in some other state or was unknown. It was in some other state in 20.6 per cent, or one-fifth, of the total number of divorces; it was unknown in 12.6 per cent, or one-eighth, of the total number.

PARTY TO WHICH GRANTED.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.							
	Total number.	Residence of libellee.						
		In same state.		Outside the state.		Unknown.		
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
Total.....	945,625	631,681	66.8	194,369	20.6	119,575	12.6	
Husband.....	316,149	215,446	68.1	66,146	20.9	34,557	10.9	
Wife.....	629,476	416,235	66.1	128,223	20.4	85,018	13.5	

There is no very marked difference as regards residence of the libellee between divorces granted to the husband and those granted to the wife, such difference as appears indicating that the residence of the defendant husband is more likely to be unknown than that of the defendant wife.

The proportion of libellees resident in the same state varies considerably in different parts of the country. (See Table 21.) In the Dakotas the proportion is notably and perhaps significantly small. A majority of the defendants in divorce cases in those states are residents of other states, the per-

centage of libellees resident in the state being only 30.1 for North Dakota and 35.6 for South Dakota. The percentage is also small for Nevada (35.6) and for Wyoming (37.9). The small percentage for Delaware (39.8) is without significance because of the lack of information in the records, indicated by the large percentage of unknown¹ (55.7). The only other states or territories in which this percentage falls below 50 are Oklahoma (44.8), Indian Territory (46.3), New Mexico (48.5), and Nebraska (49.4).

An exceptionally large percentage of resident libellees obtains for Louisiana (88), New York (85), Texas (80.7), California (78.6), Kentucky (76.3), Alabama (75.4), and Indiana (75.2).

Alimony.—The figures obtained indicate that alimony was asked in 13.2 per cent of the total number of divorce cases and was obtained in 9.2 per cent. Naturally the percentage of divorced husbands asking or obtaining alimony is small as compared with the corresponding percentage for divorced wives. Of the latter 18.4 per cent asked for alimony and 12.7 per cent obtained it. In other words, 3 wives out of 16 asked for alimony, and 2 out of 16, or 1 out of 8, obtained it. It follows that alimony is obtained by wives in about two-thirds of the cases in which it is asked for.

CLASS WITH RESPECT TO ALIMONY.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.					
	Total.		Granted to husband.		Granted to wife.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
All cases.....	945,625	100.0	316,149	100.0	629,476	100.0
Alimony asked.....	124,932	13.2	8,999	2.8	115,933	18.4
Granted.....	86,559	9.2	6,354	2.0	80,205	12.7
Not granted.....	37,936	4.0	2,615	0.8	35,321	5.6
Unknown.....	437	(¹)	30	(¹)	407	0.1
Alimony not asked.....	805,776	85.2	300,943	95.2	504,833	80.2
Unknown.....	14,017	1.6	6,207	2.0	8,710	1.4

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Duration of marriages terminated by divorce.—The average duration of marriages terminated by divorce is about 10 years. The exact average as computed on the basis of the returns of the present investigation was 9.9 years.

Although the average duration of divorced marriages was about 10 years, 59.7 per cent, or three-fifths, of such marriages lasted less than 10 years, and only 40.3 per cent exceeded that number of years; 28.3 per cent of the total number of divorced marriages lasted less than 5 years.

¹ Usually "unknown" means unknown to the court, but in some cases it means simply unrecorded, so that it was unknown to the agents collecting the data for this inquiry, though it may have been known to the court.

NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED.	DIVORCES EXCLUSIVE OF THOSE FOR WHICH THE DURATION OF MARRIAGE WAS UNKNOWN.			
	1887 to 1906.		1867 to 1886.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	900,584	100.0	304,726	100.0
Less than 1 year.....	18,876	2.1	15,622	5.1
1 year.....	27,763	3.1	21,525	7.1
2 years.....	61,481	6.8	27,270	8.9
3 years.....	73,052	8.1	27,909	9.2
4 years.....	73,913	8.2	25,599	8.4
5 years.....	68,770	7.6	23,082	7.6
6 years.....	62,066	6.3	20,227	6.6
7 years.....	56,417	5.6	17,680	5.8
8 years.....	50,654	4.9	15,088	5.0
9 years.....	44,397	4.5	13,843	4.5
10 years.....	40,730	4.0	11,847	3.9
11 years.....	36,369	3.6	10,698	3.5
12 years.....	31,971	3.1	9,296	3.1
13 years.....	28,260	2.8	8,002	2.6
14 years.....	25,077	2.6	7,218	2.4
15 years.....	22,979	2.2	6,362	2.1
16 years.....	20,025	2.0	5,380	1.8
17 years.....	17,901	1.8	4,649	1.5
18 years.....	16,018	1.6	4,125	1.4
19 years.....	14,253	1.5	3,933	1.3
20 years.....	13,864	1.3		
21 years.....	12,141	1.2		
22 years.....	10,489	1.1		
23 years.....	9,488	1.0		
24 years.....	8,596	0.9		
25 years and over.....	54,434	6.0	25,371	8.3

The classification by number of years married as presented in the above table requires explanation to prevent its being misunderstood. The number of years beyond the first two represents the difference obtained by subtracting the year of marriage from the year of divorce. For instance, a couple married in 1900 and divorced in 1905 would be classified as married 5 years. This was deemed to be the only feasible way of making the classification, and conforms to the method followed at the former investigation. It is not altogether satisfactory because it ignores the month and day of marriage and of divorce, and does not, therefore, classify the divorced couples on the basis of the exact length of time that the marriage lasted.

It will be found that it includes under any given year (except the first) a portion (perhaps as great as one-half) of the couples that on the basis of the exact length of time married belong in the next year below, and excludes and classifies in the next year above a portion (perhaps equally great) of the couples that on the other basis belong in the given year. Thus the differences largely offset each other, so that the two classifications are not so divergent as they might at first seem to be. This statement does not, however, apply to the first two years in the above classification. In view of the special interest believed to attach to the number of persons divorced within a year after marriage, that number was determined on the basis of the exact length of time married and inserted in the above

table as married less than 1 year, although a strict adherence to the principle of classification would require that those married less than 1 year should consist only of those married and divorced in the same calendar year. As a result of this deviation from the general rule the number classified as "married one year" includes only those whose marriage lasted more than 1 year, or twelve months, but did not extend beyond the calendar year following that in which they were married. Probably the number divorced in the second year of married life would be not less than twice as great as the number here classified as married 1 year.

The number of divorces that occurred in the first year of married life during the entire period, 1887 to 1906, was 18,876. The number classified as married 1 year is 27,763; but for reasons given above this can not be accepted as representing the number divorced in the second year, or second twelve months, of married life. Probably the latter number was not less than 50,000. But the number classified as married 2 years, 61,481, may be regarded as indicating approximately the number divorced in the third year of married life; and similarly the number classified as married 3, 4, and 5 years may be taken as approximately representing the numbers divorced in the fourth, fifth, and sixth years of married life.

The table, therefore, indicates that the number of divorces reaches its maximum about the fifth year of married life and from that point on the number steadily diminishes year by year; but it does not fall below the number granted in the first year of married life until the eighteenth year is reached (married 17 years).

Under normal conditions and in a country not affected by emigration or immigration the number of married people in each successive year of married life steadily diminishes—that is to say, there are more people in the first year of married life than in the second, and more in the second than in the third, just as there are more people in the first year of natural life than in the second, and more in the second than in the third. This fact must be kept in mind in considering the significance of the above distribution of divorced couples by duration of marriage. Since, however, the distribution of total married population by number of years married is unknown, it is difficult to deduce from the above figures any very positive conclusions regarding the tendency to divorce at different periods of married life. Probably, however, the divorce rate reaches its maximum somewhere about the fifth year.

The average duration of divorced marriages is increasing, having advanced from 9.2 years in the period 1867 to 1886 to 9.9 years in the period 1887 to 1906. In the former period 9.6 per cent of the total number of divorces were granted to couples that had been married at least 20 years; in the latter period the corresponding percentage was 12.1. Up to the tenth year of married life the percentage of the total number of divorces granted in each year of married life is generally larger in the earlier period (1867 to 1886) than in the later (1887 to 1906); after the tenth year the difference is the other way.

It is doubtful whether this change is anything more than the reflection of a change in the proportion of married people in the older periods of married life. The age composition of the entire population is changing in the direction of a larger proportion of older people and smaller proportion of younger.¹ Probably a similar change is occurring in what might be called the age composition of marriages, or length of time married; in so far as that is the case it would naturally produce an increase in the proportion of divorces occurring in the older periods of married life.

There is no marked or significant contrast in the duration of marriages between those that were divorced on application of the husband and those in which the wife was the libellant.

¹ Bureau of the Census, Supplementary Analysis, pages 145 and 149.

NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED.	DIVORCES EXCLUSIVE OF THOSE FOR WHICH THE DURATION OF MARRIAGE WAS UNKNOWN: 1887 TO 1906.			
	Granted to husband.		Granted to wife.	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	297,455	100.0	603,129	100.0
Less than 1 year.....	6,684	2.2	12,192	2.0
1 year.....	9,074	3.1	18,689	3.1
2 years.....	19,571	6.6	41,910	6.9
3 years.....	24,033	8.1	49,019	8.1
4 years.....	24,438	8.2	49,475	8.2
5 years.....	22,942	7.7	45,828	7.6
6 years.....	21,142	7.1	41,524	6.9
7 years.....	18,947	6.4	37,470	6.2
8 years.....	17,059	5.7	33,595	5.6
9 years.....	14,659	4.9	29,738	4.9
10 years.....	13,631	4.6	27,099	4.5
11 years.....	12,081	4.1	24,288	4.0
12 years.....	10,521	3.5	21,450	3.6
13 years.....	9,230	3.1	19,030	3.2
14 years.....	8,210	2.8	16,867	2.8
15 years.....	7,376	2.5	15,603	2.6
16 years.....	6,393	2.1	13,632	2.3
17 years.....	5,742	1.9	12,159	2.0
18 years.....	5,125	1.7	10,893	1.8
19 years.....	4,446	1.5	9,807	1.6
20 years.....	4,351	1.5	9,513	1.6
21 years.....	3,805	1.3	8,336	1.4
22 years.....	3,318	1.1	7,171	1.2
23 years.....	2,913	1.0	6,575	1.1
24 years.....	2,644	0.9	5,952	1.0
25 years and over.....	19,120	6.4	35,314	5.9

Some further light upon the variations in the number of divorces granted in each successive year of married life, particularly in the first 4 or 5 years, may be obtained from the following table, which classifies the divorces by cause and duration of marriage:

NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED.	DIVORCES EXCLUSIVE OF THOSE FOR WHICH THE DURATION OF MARRIAGE WAS UNKNOWN: 1887 TO 1906.														
	Total number.	Granted for—													
		Adultery.		Cruelty.		Desertion.		Drunkenness.		Neglect to provide.		Combinations of preceding causes, etc.		All other causes. ¹	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Total.....	900,584	146,976	16.3	200,916	22.3	356,298	39.6	35,798	4.0	34,157	3.8	86,844	9.6	39,595	4.4
Less than 5 years.....	255,085	45,453	17.8	71,361	28.0	81,337	31.9	7,622	3.0	10,766	4.2	23,633	9.3	14,913	5.8
Less than 1 year.....	18,876	4,800	25.4	8,426	44.6	1,293	6.8	426	2.3	674	3.6	1,417	7.5	1,840	9.7
1 year.....	27,703	6,134	22.1	10,504	37.8	4,381	15.8	701	2.5	1,318	4.7	2,587	9.3	2,138	7.7
2 years.....	61,481	11,433	18.6	18,964	30.8	16,918	27.5	1,795	2.9	2,799	4.6	5,791	9.4	3,781	6.1
3 years.....	73,052	11,705	16.0	17,750	24.3	27,727	38.0	2,224	3.0	3,152	4.3	6,766	9.3	3,728	5.1
4 years.....	73,913	11,381	15.4	15,717	21.3	31,018	42.0	2,476	3.3	2,823	3.8	7,072	9.6	3,426	4.6
5 to 9 years.....	282,904	46,841	16.6	55,010	19.4	120,785	42.7	10,937	3.9	10,298	3.6	27,594	9.8	11,439	4.0
5 years.....	68,770	10,789	15.7	14,072	20.5	29,461	42.8	2,406	3.5	2,564	3.7	6,592	9.6	2,886	4.2
6 years.....	62,666	10,370	16.5	12,329	19.7	26,511	42.3	2,360	3.8	2,316	3.7	6,150	9.8	2,630	4.2
7 years.....	56,417	9,453	16.8	10,800	19.1	24,256	43.0	2,194	3.9	2,099	3.7	5,370	9.5	2,245	4.0
8 years.....	50,654	8,731	17.2	9,581	18.9	21,541	42.5	2,081	4.1	1,757	3.5	5,001	9.9	1,962	3.9
9 years.....	44,397	7,498	16.9	8,228	18.5	19,016	42.8	1,896	4.3	1,562	3.5	4,481	10.1	1,716	3.9
10 to 14 years.....	162,407	27,635	17.0	31,650	19.5	68,119	41.9	7,472	4.6	5,851	3.6	15,918	9.8	5,762	3.5
15 to 19 years.....	91,176	14,564	16.0	18,770	20.6	37,310	40.9	4,498	4.9	3,501	3.8	9,090	10.0	3,443	3.8
20 to 24 years.....	54,578	7,442	13.6	12,072	22.1	22,634	41.5	2,831	5.2	1,998	3.7	5,557	10.2	2,044	3.7
25 to 29 years.....	29,245	3,179	10.9	6,501	22.2	13,181	45.1	1,422	4.9	1,031	3.5	2,808	9.6	1,123	3.8
30 to 34 years.....	15,035	1,263	8.4	3,366	22.4	7,348	48.9	682	4.5	464	3.1	1,379	9.2	533	3.5
35 to 39 years.....	6,555	445	6.8	1,426	21.8	3,504	53.5	229	3.5	173	2.6	561	8.6	217	3.3
40 to 44 years.....	2,507	106	4.2	543	21.7	1,427	56.9	67	2.7	53	2.1	220	8.8	91	3.6
45 to 49 years.....	805	36	4.5	158	19.6	470	58.4	30	3.7	20	2.5	66	8.2	25	3.1
50 years and over.....	287	12	4.2	59	20.6	183	63.8	8	2.8	2	0.7	18	6.3	5	1.7

¹ Includes cause unknown.

It may be noted that of the divorces granted in the first two years of married life, the proportion for adultery and cruelty is exceptionally large, and the proportion for desertion exceptionally small. But this does

not necessarily mean that in the first year or two of married life there is a greater tendency towards infidelity and cruelty and a smaller inclination towards desertion, than there is later.

An obvious reason for the peculiarity exhibited by the above percentages is found in the fact that desertion is not ordinarily recognized by the courts as a valid ground for divorce until it has existed for a considerable length of time. In some states it must have lasted 3 years before it becomes a legal ground. Naturally then, in the first year or two of married life, the proportion of divorces granted for desertion is small, and that fact increases the relative importance of the other grounds for divorce, which are more immediately applicable. Apparently a normal relationship between the causes of divorce is established in about the fifth year of married life ("married 4 years"). By that time desertion, as a cause of divorce, has attained its full effect. For a period of about 15 years thereafter, or until the twentieth year of married life is reached, the relative importance of the several main causes of divorce shows very little change, the percentages remaining fairly constant. After the twentieth year there is a decline in the relative importance of adultery as a ground of divorce, and an increase in that of desertion. Drunkenness, as a cause of divorce, attains its greatest relative importance between the twentieth and twenty-fifth year of married life.

It is evident that the increase, previously noted in the total number of divorces up to the fifth year of married life, is largely accounted for by the interval of time that must elapse between the commission of the fault or offense which constitutes the ground for divorce, and the granting of the divorce by the courts. Even when suit is promptly instituted the law's delays may carry the decision over into a later year of married life.

The rapidity with which matters come to a crisis in the married careers of divorced couples is more clearly indicated by the number of years which elapsed between marriage and separation. This has been ascertained for 770,929 divorces, or about four-fifths of the total number granted in the years 1887 to 1906.

The following classification is based simply upon the calendar year of marriage and separation. Accordingly "less than 1 year" includes only those that separated in the same calendar year in which married; similarly "1 year" includes those who separated in the first calendar year following that in which they were married; "2 years" those separating in the second calendar year after marriage; and so on. Probably the number separating within twelve months after marriage is at least 50 per cent greater than the number classified as separating in "less than 1 year."

The table makes it evident that more separations occur in the first and second years of married life than in any subsequent year. At the end of the fifth year more than one-half of the total number of separations have taken place. The number diminishes slowly year by year thereafter. But it is a somewhat

surprising fact that 24,143 married couples—3.1 per cent of the total number—separated and became divorced after the completion of 25 years of married life.

		DIVORCES: ¹ 1887 TO 1906.	
NUMBER OF YEARS FROM MARRIAGE TO SEPARATION.		Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....		770,929	100.0
Less than 1 year.....		98,460	12.8
1 year.....		109,689	14.2
2 years.....		76,102	9.9
3 years.....		62,608	8.1
4 years.....		53,078	6.9
5 years.....		45,549	5.9
6 years.....		39,319	5.1
7 years.....		33,916	4.4
8 years.....		30,023	3.9
9 years.....		25,904	3.4
10 years.....		24,428	3.2
11 years.....		20,002	2.6
12 years.....		17,620	2.3
13 years.....		15,521	2.0
14 years.....		13,950	1.8
15 years.....		12,507	1.6
16 years.....		11,027	1.4
17 years.....		10,190	1.3
18 years.....		9,053	1.2
19 years.....		8,245	1.1
20 years.....		7,851	1.0
21 years.....		6,443	0.8
22 years.....		5,742	0.7
23 years.....		5,041	0.7
24 years.....		4,427	0.6
25 years and over.....		24,143	3.1

¹ Exclusive of those for which the number of years from marriage to separation was unknown.

The number of years elapsing between separation and divorce was ascertained in 780,022 cases.

		DIVORCES: ¹ 1887 TO 1906.	
NUMBER OF YEARS FROM SEPARATION TO DIVORCE.		Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....		780,022	100.0
Less than 1 year.....		99,443	12.7
1 year.....		173,778	22.3
2 years.....		144,131	18.5
3 years.....		115,521	14.8
4 years.....		79,556	10.2
5 years.....		49,556	6.4
6 years.....		32,842	4.2
7 years.....		22,024	2.8
8 years.....		15,681	2.0
9 years.....		10,764	1.4
10 years.....		8,295	1.1
11 years.....		6,399	0.8
12 years.....		4,777	0.6
13 years.....		3,607	0.5
14 years.....		2,804	0.4
15 years.....		2,234	0.3
16 years.....		1,713	0.2
17 years.....		1,350	0.2
18 years.....		1,085	0.1
19 years.....		846	0.1
20 years and over.....		3,616	0.5

¹ Exclusive of those for which the number of years from separation to divorce was unknown.

About one-eighth, 12.7 per cent, of the total number of divorces are granted in the same calendar year in which the separation took place. Rather more than one-third (35 per cent) are granted either in the same year or in the following year. At the completion of 5 years after separation 78.5 per cent of the total number of divorces have been granted.

Place of marriage.—So far as possible, divorces have been classified with respect to the state or country in which the parties were married. This classification was believed to be of interest in connection with the question of the extent to which people desiring a divorce resort for this purpose to some state where a divorce may be obtained more readily than in their home state.

The facts regarding place of marriage—which were obtained in all but 10.8 per cent of the total number of divorces included in the present investigation—indicated that 68.1 per cent, or more than two-thirds of the divorced couples, were married in the same state in which they were divorced; that 18.7 per cent were married in a different state; and that 2.5 per cent were married in foreign countries.

PERIOD OF YEARS.	DIVORCES.								
	Total number.	Granted to couples—							
		Who were married—						Whose place of marriage was unknown.	
		In the same state.		In some other state.		In a foreign country.			
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.		
1887 to 1906.....	945,625	643,766	68.1	176,498	18.7	23,534	2.5	101,827	10.8
1902 to 1906.....	332,642	228,592	68.7	63,609	19.1	7,798	2.3	32,643	9.8
1897 to 1901.....	260,720	179,217	68.7	47,301	18.1	6,032	2.3	28,170	10.8
1892 to 1896.....	194,939	130,649	67.0	36,437	18.7	5,405	2.8	22,448	11.5
1887 to 1891.....	157,324	105,308	66.9	29,151	18.5	4,299	2.7	18,566	11.8
1867 to 1886.....	328,716	231,867	70.5	57,719	17.6	7,741	2.4	31,389	9.5
1887 to 1906.....	945,625	643,766	68.1	176,498	18.7	23,534	2.5	101,827	10.8
Granted to husband.....	316,149	211,147	66.8	62,745	19.8	8,616	2.7	33,641	10.6
Granted to wife.....	629,476	432,619	68.7	113,753	18.1	14,918	2.4	68,186	10.8

The proportion of divorces occurring in the same state where the parties were married is slightly smaller than it was at the earlier period (1867 to 1886) covered by the former investigation. That the proportion was larger at the end of the second period than at the beginning may simply result from the greater completeness of the later returns, as indicated by the declining percentage of cases in which the place of marriage was unknown.

The percentage of divorces occurring in the state where married is slightly larger for the divorces granted to the wife than for those granted to the husband.

The amount of interstate migration among divorced couples may be more accurately measured by percentages based upon the total number known to have been married in the United States; that is, upon the number of divorced couples exclusive of those married abroad, and those whose place of marriage was unknown.

Of the married couples divorced in the period 1887 to 1906 the number known to have been married in the United States was 820,264, and of this number 176,498, or 21.5 per cent, were divorced in a different state from that in which they were married; that is, one divorced couple out of five migrated from the state in which married to some other state before being divorced. But, of course, it does not follow that this migration was for the purpose of obtaining a divorce. On the contrary, it is probable that that motive was present in a comparatively small proportion of the total number of cases, and that to a large extent the migration was merely an incident of the general move-

ment of population, which takes place for economic and other reasons, unconnected with the question of divorce.

PERIOD OF YEARS AND PARTY TO WHICH GRANTED.	DIVORCES GRANTED TO COUPLES KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN MARRIED IN THE UNITED STATES.		
	Total number.	Married outside the state in which divorced.	
		Number.	Per cent.
1887 to 1906.....	820,264	176,498	21.5
Husband.....	273,892	62,745	22.9
Wife.....	546,372	113,753	20.8
1867 to 1886.....	289,586	57,719	19.9
Husband.....	98,931	21,924	22.2
Wife.....	190,655	35,795	18.8

The returns of the census of 1900 showed that 20.7 per cent of the native population of the United States were living outside the state or territory in which they were born. At the census of 1890 the corresponding percentage was 20.8. These percentages are practically the same as the percentage of migrating divorced couples; and the coincidence naturally suggests that the migration of the latter may be entirely accounted for by the general movement of population. But the close correspondence in the percentages must be regarded as being largely accidental. In fact, it is hard to say what a normal relationship between the two percentages would be, on the assumption that there is no migration for divorce purposes. The figures for

population record the changes of residence taking place since birth, while those for married couples record only the changes taking place between marriage and divorce, the migrations prior to marriage or subsequent to divorce being left out of the computation. Moreover, it can not be assumed that the population migrating includes the same proportion of married people as the population staying at home—i. e., remaining in the state where born. Again, the interstate migration of population, which is indicated by the proportion of the total number of persons born in the several states living in other states, is restricted to the native population of the United States, while the interstate migration of divorced persons includes the foreign born population married after coming to this country. Thus there are many elements of uncertainty entering into the comparison, the only safe conclusion being that the migration of divorced couples prior to divorce is, to a large extent, accounted for by reasons unconnected with the divorce question.

Divorces granted to parties married in foreign countries.—The number of divorces granted to couples known to have been married in a foreign country was 23,437. But this can by no means be accepted as representing the total number of divorces granted to persons of foreign birth, or to immigrants, for the reason that many immigrants marry after coming to this country. Such marriages are not distinguishable from marriages of natives, and, therefore, the total number of divorces granted to persons of foreign birth is unknown.

In the following table the classification according to country in which married is shown for the couples married in foreign countries and divorced in the United States, together with the distribution by country of birth of the total foreign born population in 1900. The value of the comparison is somewhat impaired by the fact, just mentioned, that a considerable proportion of the marriages among foreigners take place in this country. Still the table is not without significance.

Of the foreign marriages divorced in the United States more than one-third (36.9 per cent) were contracted in Canada, although the Canadians by birth constitute only 11.4 per cent of the total foreign born population. It is probable that many Canadian married couples acquire a residence in the United States for the sole purpose of obtaining a divorce, the divorce laws here being in general more liberal than in Canada.

The next largest number of divorced marriages originated in Germany, but the percentage (16.1) is not as great as the percentage of Germans (25.8) in the total foreign born population. England, on the other

hand, contributes a large proportion (12.7 per cent) of the total number of divorced marriages of foreign origin than of the total foreign born population (8.1 per cent). Very noticeable is the small proportion of divorced marriages contracted in Ireland as compared with the large proportion of Irish in the total foreign born population. The divorced marriages contracted in Germany are more than eight times as many as those contracted in Ireland, although the German born population is only about 65 per cent larger than the Irish.

COUNTRY.	DIVORCES GRANTED, 1887 TO 1906, TO COUPLES MARRIED IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.		Per cent distribution of population born in foreign countries: 1900.	Population born in foreign countries: 1900.
	Number.	Per cent distribution		
Total.....	23,437	100.0	100.0	10,341,276
Australia.....	123	0.5	0.1	6,807
Austria.....	701	3.0	2.7	275,907
Belgium.....	150	0.6	0.3	29,757
Bohemia.....	285	1.2	1.5	156,891
Canada ¹	8,645	36.9	11.4	1,179,807
Cuba.....	100	0.4	0.1	11,081
Denmark.....	426	1.8	1.5	153,805
England.....	2,966	12.7	8.1	840,513
Finland.....	164	0.7	0.6	62,641
France.....	282	1.2	1.0	104,197
Germany.....	3,775	16.1	25.8	2,663,418
Holland.....	131	0.6	1.0	104,931
Hungary.....	494	2.1	1.4	145,714
Ireland.....	457	1.9	15.6	1,615,459
Italy.....	577	2.5	4.7	484,027
Mexico.....	199	0.8	1.0	103,393
Norway.....	510	2.2	3.3	336,388
Poland.....	160	0.7	3.7	383,407
Russia.....	1,040	4.4	4.1	423,726
Scotland.....	446	1.9	2.3	233,524
Sweden.....	879	3.8	5.5	572,014
Switzerland.....	291	1.2	1.1	115,593
Wales.....	128	0.5	0.9	93,586
Other foreign countries.....	508	2.2	2.4	244,690

¹ Includes Newfoundland.

Children in divorce cases.—The statistics here presented relate only to children affected by the decree of divorce, which would include, in general, all dependent children at the time the divorce was granted. Grown up children supporting themselves would not ordinarily be considered in the decree.

PERIOD OF YEARS.	DIVORCES.							
	Total number.	Reporting children.		Reporting no children.		Not reporting as to children.		
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
1887 to 1906....	945,625	376,694	39.8	380,608	40.2	188,323	19.9	
1902 to 1906.....	332,642	128,688	38.7	139,779	42.0	64,175	19.3	
1897 to 1901.....	260,720	104,628	40.1	104,431	40.1	51,661	19.8	
1892 to 1896.....	194,939	79,960	41.0	76,346	39.2	38,633	19.8	
1887 to 1891.....	157,324	63,418	40.3	60,052	38.2	33,854	21.5	
1867 to 1886....	328,716	129,382	39.4	57,524	17.5	141,810	43.1	
1882 to 1886.....	117,311	47,307	40.3	21,056	17.9	48,948	41.7	
1877 to 1881.....	89,284	35,356	39.6	15,109	16.9	38,819	43.5	
1872 to 1876.....	68,547	26,524	38.7	11,646	17.0	30,377	44.3	
1867 to 1871.....	53,574	20,195	37.7	9,713	18.1	23,666	44.2	

In 188,323 of the cases included in the present investigation (1886 to 1907) there was no report as to children—that is, there was no mention of children in the available court records. This represents 19.9 per cent, or one-fifth, of the total number of cases. The absence of any reference to children in these cases creates a strong presumption that there were no children, or, at any rate, no young children. In 376,694 cases, or 39.8 per cent of the total number, children were reported; and in 380,608 cases, or 40.2 per cent of the total, it was reported that there were no children.

At the earlier investigation, covering the years 1867 to 1886, the proportion of cases in which children were reported was practically the same, the percentage being 39.4 per cent. But the percentage reporting no children (17.5) was much smaller, and the percentage not reporting (43.1) much larger than in the present investigation. This strengthens the presumption that the cases in which there was no report represent, for the most part, cases in which there were no children, the probability being that the contrast between the two periods, as regards these percentages, is due mainly to a difference in the practice of the agents collecting the data, or in the completeness of the court records. In other words, it may be assumed that at the present investigation very many cases were returned as "reporting no children," which at the earlier period would have been returned as "not reporting." If these inferences are correct it follows that percentages based on the total number of divorces more accurately represent the proportion of cases in which there were children than percentages based on the total number of cases exclusive of those "not reporting." If the latter basis were adopted there would be a remarkable and inexplicable contrast between the two periods as regards the percentage of cases in which there were children, the percentage becoming 69.2 for the earlier period as compared with 49.7 for the later. It seems a pretty safe conclusion, therefore, that for purposes of analysis and comparison, the cases in which there was no report may be treated as being cases in which there were no children.

Accepting the percentages based on the total number of divorce cases, it appears that children are present in about two cases out of five. There is considerable difference in this respect between divorces granted to the husband and those granted to the wife. For the former the percentage of cases in which there were children is only 26; in the latter it is 46.8.

PERIOD OF YEARS.	DIVORCES.							
	Total number.	Reporting children.		Reporting no children.		Not reporting as to children.		
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
GRANTED TO HUSBAND.								
1887 to 1906...	316,149	82,207	26.0	148,504	47.0	85,438	27.0	
1902 to 1906.....	109,241	28,012	25.6	52,656	48.2	28,573	26.2	
1897 to 1901.....	86,306	22,838	26.5	40,087	46.4	23,381	27.1	
1892 to 1896.....	65,622	17,354	26.4	30,711	46.8	17,557	26.8	
1887 to 1891.....	54,980	14,003	25.5	25,050	45.6	15,927	29.0	
GRANTED TO WIFE.								
1887 to 1906...	629,476	294,487	46.8	232,104	36.9	102,885	16.3	
1902 to 1906.....	223,401	100,676	45.1	87,123	39.0	35,602	15.9	
1897 to 1901.....	174,414	81,790	46.9	64,344	36.9	28,280	16.2	
1892 to 1896.....	129,317	62,606	48.4	45,635	35.3	21,076	16.3	
1887 to 1891.....	102,344	49,415	48.3	35,002	34.2	17,927	17.5	

In so far as the presence of children acts as a restraint upon the inclination to seek divorce, it might seem that it would have more influence upon the mother than upon the father. There is, however, this important difference between the position of the father and that of the mother when it comes to the question of getting a divorce. The court usually assigns the children to the care of the mother. To her, therefore, divorce does not ordinarily involve a separation from her children. It is a severance of the marital relationship only. But to the father it signifies a severance of the parental relationship as well. Both parties may be equally averse to a continuation of the marital relationship, but the father may, for the reason suggested, be more reluctant than the mother to take the initiative in securing divorce.

It appears that 77.9 per cent of the divorce cases in which there were children were granted to the wife, compared with 61 per cent of those in which there were no children.

CLASS WITH RESPECT TO CHILDREN.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.				
	Total number.	Granted to husband.		Granted to wife.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
All classes.....	945,625	316,149	33.4	629,476	66.6
Reporting children.....	376,694	82,207	22.1	294,487	77.9
Reporting no children.....	380,608	148,504	39.0	232,104	61.0
Not reporting as to children.....	188,323	85,438	45.4	102,885	54.6

The following statement shows the proportion of cases in which there were children, for divorces classified by cause and party to which granted:

CAUSE.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.							
	Total number.	Reporting children.		Reporting no children.		Not reporting as to children.		
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
GRANTED TO HUSBAND.								
All causes.....	316,149	82,207	26.0	148,504	47.0	85,438	27.0	
Adultery.....	90,890	25,171	27.7	41,730	45.9	23,989	26.4	
Cruelty.....	33,178	11,079	33.4	16,104	48.5	5,995	18.1	
Desertion.....	156,283	36,615	23.4	75,295	48.2	44,373	28.4	
Drunkenness.....	3,436	1,141	33.2	1,643	47.8	652	19.0	
Neglect to provide.....	6	5	(¹)	-----	-----	1	(¹)	
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.....	14,330	4,366	30.5	6,517	45.5	3,447	24.1	
All other causes ²	18,026	3,830	21.2	7,215	40.0	6,981	38.7	
GRANTED TO WIFE.								
All causes.....	629,476	294,487	46.8	232,104	36.9	102,885	16.3	
Adultery.....	62,869	26,579	42.3	26,086	41.5	10,204	16.2	
Cruelty.....	173,047	84,583	48.9	62,614	36.2	25,850	14.9	
Desertion.....	211,219	92,803	43.9	78,458	37.1	39,958	18.9	
Drunkenness.....	33,080	18,243	55.1	10,381	31.4	4,456	13.5	
Neglect to provide.....	34,664	17,007	49.1	14,627	42.2	3,030	8.7	
Combinations of preceding causes, etc.....	74,519	39,586	53.1	26,058	35.0	8,875	11.9	
All other causes ²	40,078	15,686	39.1	13,880	34.6	10,512	26.2	

¹ Per cent not shown where base is less than 100.

² Includes cause unknown.

The comparatively small percentage of cases in which there were children in the class of divorces granted to the husband on the ground of desertion is noteworthy as suggesting the influence children may have in restraining the wife from leaving her husband when the conditions are such that she can not take the children with her. On the other hand, the large percentage shown for divorces granted to the wife on the ground of drunkenness suggests that in these cases regard for her children may be one of the motives determining her action in seeking the divorce. The small percentage of cases in which there were children in the residuary class of divorces granted for "all other causes" is doubtless to be explained by the fact that this includes cases in which the cause of divorce was unknown. When the meagerness of the record was such that not even the ground on which the divorce was granted could be ascertained, it is extremely probable that the cases in which there were children would not be fully reported. At this point it is not so certain that the absence of any reference to children implies that there were no children. It is probable, on the other hand, that if the full facts were known, a good many of the cases under "all other causes" now classified as "not reporting as to children" would be transferred to the class "reporting children" and that the percentage not reporting would not be exceptionally large for "all other causes" if the causes unknown could be eliminated.

Occupations.—The attempt made to secure a statement of the occupations represented by persons obtaining divorces was not very successful. In the aggregate the occupation was returned for 226,760 divorced husbands, which is only 24 per cent of the total number divorced during the period covered by this investigation. The proportion of divorced husbands for whom the occupation was reported varied widely in different states as is shown by the following table:

STATE OR TERRITORY.	DIVORCES: 1887 TO 1906.		
	Total number.	Reporting occupation of husband.	
		Number.	Per cent.
Continental United States.....	945,625	226,760	24.0
North Atlantic division.....	142,920	42,263	29.6
Maine.....	14,194	21	0.1
New Hampshire.....	8,617	134	1.6
Vermont.....	4,740	945	19.9
Massachusetts.....	22,940	274	1.2
Rhode Island.....	6,953	3,092	44.5
Connecticut.....	9,224	91	1.0
New York.....	29,125	10,837	37.3
New Jersey.....	7,441	6,034	81.1
Pennsylvania.....	39,086	20,815	53.4
South Atlantic division.....	58,003	19,739	34.7
Delaware.....	887	10	1.1
Maryland.....	7,920	2,706	34.2
District of Columbia.....	2,325	518	22.3
Virginia.....	12,129	7,747	63.9
West Virginia.....	10,308	3,781	36.7
North Carolina.....	7,047	2,043	29.0
South Carolina ¹	10,401	1,774	17.1
Georgia.....	7,586	1,160	15.3
Florida.....	7,586	1,160	15.3
North Central division.....	434,476	100,762	23.3
Ohio.....	63,982	7,294	11.4
Indiana.....	60,721	20,372	33.6
Illinois.....	82,309	27,856	33.9
Michigan.....	42,371	19,327	45.6
Wisconsin.....	22,867	8,152	35.6
Minnesota.....	15,646	2,902	18.5
Iowa.....	34,874	8,819	25.3
Missouri.....	54,766	2,873	5.2
North Dakota ²	4,317	1,367	31.7
South Dakota ²	7,108	3,614	50.8
Nebraska.....	10,711	3,433	30.5
Kansas.....	28,904	3,723	12.9
South Central division.....	220,289	36,265	16.5
Kentucky.....	30,641	9,306	30.4
Tennessee.....	30,447	5,728	18.8
Alabama.....	22,807	2,462	10.8
Mississippi.....	19,093	2,005	10.0
Louisiana.....	9,785	2,941	30.1
Arkansas.....	29,541	3,246	11.0
Indian Territory ³	6,751	1,300	20.1
Oklahoma ⁴	7,609	1,488	19.4
Texas.....	62,655	7,729	12.3
Western division.....	89,337	18,731	21.0
Montana.....	6,454	1,165	18.1
Idaho.....	3,205	673	21.0
Wyoming.....	1,772	400	22.6
Colorado.....	15,844	2,512	15.9
New Mexico.....	2,437	941	38.6
Arizona.....	2,380	733	30.8
Utah.....	4,670	1,155	24.7
Nevada.....	1,045	236	22.6
Washington.....	16,215	2,647	16.3
Oregon.....	10,145	2,952	29.1
California.....	25,170	5,317	21.1

¹ All laws permitting divorce were repealed in 1878.

² Organized from part of Dakota territory, November 2, 1889. Divorces granted in the counties then comprising Dakota territory are distributed between North Dakota and South Dakota according as the counties are now located in one or the other of these states.

³ The act of May 2, 1890, creating the territory of Oklahoma, gave the United States court in Indian Territory jurisdiction over divorce; prior to that date there is no record of divorce.

⁴ Organized from part of Indian Territory May 2, 1890.

Returns so incomplete can hardly be accepted as typical, or as indicating the proportion of divorced men in the different occupations. Still, considerable interest attaches to the numbers reported, and they are accordingly presented in the table given below, the

relative importance of the occupations being indicated on a percentage basis. For purposes of comparison the distribution by occupation is shown also for the married males for whom an occupation was reported at the Twelfth Census (1900).

OCCUPATION.	CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.				OCCUPATION.	CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.			
	Husbands divorced (1887 to 1906) for whom occupation was reported.		Married males having an occupation: Census of 1900.			Husbands divorced (1887 to 1906) for whom occupation was reported.		Married males having an occupation: Census of 1900.	
	Number.	Percent distribution.	Number.	Percent distribution.		Number.	Percent distribution.	Number.	Percent distribution.
All occupations.....	226,760	100.0	13,150,671	100.0	Trade and transportation—Con.				
Agricultural pursuits.....	64,420	28.4	5,186,449	39.4	Merchants and dealers.....	9,122	4.0	600,429	4.6
Agricultural laborers.....	4,247	1.9	611,208	4.6	Salesmen.....	3,597	1.6	188,289	1.4
Farmers, planters, and overseers.....	57,136	25.2	4,425,661	33.7	Steam railroad employees.....	8,421	3.7	343,870	2.6
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc.....	455	0.2	42,671	0.3	Street railway employees.....	1,078	0.5	42,168	0.3
Lumbermen and raftsmen.....	779	0.3	32,430	0.2	Telegraph and telephone operators.....	1,857	0.4	21,989	0.2
Stock raisers, herders, and drovers.....	1,483	0.7	38,855	0.3	All others in this class.....	1,049	0.5	91,996	0.7
All others in this class.....	320	0.1	35,624	0.3	Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	51,414	22.7	3,364,056	25.6
Professional service.....	12,510	5.5	508,975	3.9	Bakers.....	879	0.4	42,545	0.3
Actors, professional showmen, etc.....	1,598	0.7	12,551	0.1	Blacksmiths.....	2,265	1.0	156,701	1.2
Architects, designers, draftsmen, etc.....	288	0.1	14,480	0.1	Bleachery and dye works operatives.....	431	0.2	11,831	0.1
Clergymen.....	905	0.4	80,958	0.6	Boot and shoe makers and repairers.....	940	0.4	98,992	0.8
Dentists.....	722	0.3	17,250	0.1	Brewers and maltsters.....	242	0.1	14,821	0.1
Electricians.....	602	0.3	23,050	0.2	Brick and tile makers, etc.....	222	0.1	24,000	0.2
Engineers (civil, etc.) and surveyors.....	498	0.2	24,795	0.2	Butchers.....	1,549	0.7	70,516	0.5
Journalists.....	447	0.2	17,271	0.1	Cabinetmakers.....	436	0.2	25,474	0.2
Lawyers.....	1,289	0.6	75,589	0.6	Carpenters and joiners.....	5,781	2.5	424,861	3.2
Musicians and teachers of music.....	911	0.4	20,054	0.2	Coopers.....	319	0.1	22,882	0.2
Officials (government).....	538	0.2	59,243	0.5	Engineers and firemen (not locomotive).....	2,031	0.9	152,820	1.2
Physicians and surgeons.....	3,244	1.4	89,652	0.7	Fishermen and oystermen.....	444	0.2	36,636	0.3
Teachers and professors in colleges, etc.....	877	0.4	52,924	0.4	Food preparers (not otherwise specified) ⁸	495	0.2	33,962	0.3
All others in this class.....	591	0.3	21,158	0.2	Glassworkers.....	653	0.3	21,914	0.2
Domestic and personal service.....	54,365	24.0	1,703,674	13.0	Gold and silver workers.....	235	0.1	9,852	0.1
Barbers and hairdressers.....	2,787	1.2	74,386	0.6	Harness and saddle makers and repairers.....	415	0.2	24,767	0.2
Bartenders.....	1,279	0.6	36,607	0.3	Iron and steel workers.....	2,146	0.9	161,088	1.2
Hotel keepers.....	1,093	0.5	39,350	0.3	Leather curriers and tanners.....	238	0.1	23,885	0.2
Janitors and sextons.....	325	0.1	35,646	0.3	Machinists.....	2,642	1.2	152,861	1.2
Laborers (not specified).....	40,639	17.9	1,189,995	9.0	Manufacturers and officials, etc.....	2,325	1.0	187,160	1.4
Launderers.....	289	0.1	21,762	0.2	Marble and stone cutters.....	381	0.2	33,880	0.3
Restaurant and saloon keepers.....	3,206	1.4	83,485	0.6	Masons (brick and stone).....	1,674	0.7	109,883	0.8
Servants and waiters.....	2,059	0.9	88,423	0.7	Metal workers (not otherwise specified) ⁴	717	0.3	77,441	0.6
Soldiers, sailors, and marines (U. S.).....	799	0.4	5,260	(1)	Millers.....	377	0.2	29,730	0.2
Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc.....	1,378	0.6	97,461	0.7	Miners and quarrymen.....	4,189	1.8	282,671	2.1
All others in this class.....	511	0.2	31,299	0.2	Painters, glaziers, and varnishers.....	3,237	1.4	162,522	1.2
Trade and transportation.....	44,051	19.4	2,387,517	18.2	Photographers.....	493	0.2	13,230	0.1
Agents.....	2,884	1.3	155,987	1.2	Plumbers and gas and steam fitters.....	844	0.4	45,281	0.3
Bankers, brokers, officials of banks, etc.....	1,338	0.6	105,217	0.8	Printers, lithographers, and pressmen.....	1,363	0.6	61,109	0.5
Boatmen and sailors.....	1,076	0.5	39,050	0.3	Saw and planing mill employees.....	640	0.3	83,994	0.6
Bookkeepers and accountants.....	1,422	0.6	86,206	0.7	Steam boiler makers.....	267	0.1	18,679	0.1
Clerks, stenographers, etc. ²	5,234	2.3	206,954	1.6	Tailors.....	1,337	0.6	103,928	0.8
Commercial travelers.....	2,979	1.3	62,949	0.5	Textile mill operatives ⁵	724	0.3	115,035	0.9
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.....	3,175	1.4	306,470	2.3	Tinplate and tinware makers.....	532	0.2	37,437	0.3
Foremen and overseers.....	308	0.1	41,832	0.3	Tobacco and cigar factory operatives.....	955	0.4	44,064	0.3
Hostlers.....	308	0.1	23,864	0.2	Tool and cutlery makers.....	242	0.1	15,809	0.1
Hucksters and peddlers.....	584	0.3	46,052	0.4	Upholsterers.....	265	0.1	15,803	0.1
Livery stable keepers.....	619	0.3	24,195	0.2	Woodworkers (not otherwise specified) ⁶	614	0.3	57,390	0.4
					All others in this class.....	7,875	3.5	358,602	2.7

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

² Includes clerks, copyists, stenographers, and typewriters.

³ Includes butter and cheese makers, confectioners, and "other food preparers."

⁴ Includes brassworkers, clock and watch makers and repairers, stove, furnace, and grate makers, wheelwrights, wireworkers, and "other metal workers."

⁵ Includes carpet factory operatives, cotton mill operatives, hosiery and knitting mill operatives, silk mill operatives, woolen mill operatives, and "other textile mill operatives."

If it could be assumed that the occupations not reported for divorced husbands would show approximately the same relative importance as those that were reported, so that the distribution, on a percentage basis, would not be materially affected if complete returns were secured, the above table would become extremely interesting and significant. It would indicate, for instance, that the proportion of farmers among men obtaining divorces is small as compared with the proportion in the total married male population, which

would in turn suggest that farmers are not so much addicted to divorce as some other occupational classes. Similarly, the comparison would suggest that divorces are especially frequent among general or common laborers, here designated as "laborers (not specified)." Probably many of those reported under this head were, in fact, agricultural laborers, and it would be fairer for purposes of comparison to combine these two occupations in one group. But, in fact, it is hardly possible to base any conclusion upon figures that are so incomplete.

The comparison would not be quite so unreliable and unsatisfactory if the degree of incompleteness had been the same for all parts of the country. But this was not the case. In some states a return of occupation was received for 50 per cent or more of the total number of divorces. In New Jersey the percentage reached 81.1. In other states practically no returns were received, as was the case in Maine, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Therefore the occupations followed in the latter states hardly affect the total, while those followed in New Jersey have an undue weight. Moreover, it is probable that the occupation is more apt to be recorded in those cases where alimony is asked than in other cases. Hence it is probable that, in any individual state for which there are comparatively few returns of occupation, an abnormally large proportion of those persons figuring in

divorce suits who own property or have a lucrative position, would be represented in the statistics secured.

Perhaps the only safe conclusion that could be deduced from the above table is, that a large proportion of the persons obtaining divorces come from those occupations in which a large proportion of the population are engaged. This, of course, is a very conservative statement, and hardly requires statistical confirmation.

If, however, we consider some single state where the occupation returns were more complete than they were for the entire country, the data become worthy of more serious consideration. The state in which the canvass was most successful was New Jersey, where, as already stated, an occupation was returned for 81.1 per cent of the husbands divorced in the period 1887 to 1906.

OCCUPATION.	NEW JERSEY.					OCCUPATION.	NEW JERSEY.				
	Husbands divorced (1887 to 1906) for whom occupation was reported.		Married males having an occupation: Census of 1900.		Number of married males having an occupation to each husband divorced.		Husbands divorced (1887 to 1906) for whom occupation was reported.		Married males having an occupation: Census of 1900.		Number of married males having an occupation to each husband divorced.
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.			Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	
All occupations.....	6,034	100.0	352,887	100.0	58						
Agricultural pursuits.....	402	6.7	38,533	10.9	96						
Agricultural laborers.....	89	1.5	10,014	2.8	113						
Farmers, planters, and overseers.....	283	4.7	26,066	7.4	92						
All others in this class.....	30	0.5	2,453	0.7	82						
Professional service.....	394	6.5	14,756	4.2	37						
Actors, professional showmen, etc.....	64	1.1	405	0.1	6						
Clergymen.....	21	0.3	1,837	0.5	87						
Lawyers.....	37	0.6	1,813	0.5	49						
Musicians and teachers of music.....	37	0.6	820	0.2	22						
Physicians and surgeons.....	73	1.2	1,658	0.5	23						
Teachers and professors in colleges, etc.....	20	0.3	1,006	0.3	56						
All others in this class.....	142	2.4	7,217	2.0	51						
Domestic and personal service.....	902	14.9	59,341	16.8	66						
Barbers and hairdressers.....	80	1.3	2,670	0.8	33						
Bartenders.....	59	1.0	1,318	0.4	22						
Hotel keepers.....	42	0.7	1,562	0.4	37						
Laborers (not specified).....	413	6.8	38,938	11.0	94						
Restaurant and saloonkeepers.....	94	1.6	3,720	1.1	40						
Servants and waiters.....	78	1.3	3,442	1.0	44						
Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc.....	52	0.9	4,323	1.2	83						
All others in this class.....	84	1.4	3,368	1.0	40						
Trade and transportation.....	2,115	35.1	93,346	26.5	44						
Agents.....	179	3.0	6,051	1.7	34						
Bankers, brokers, officials of banks, etc.....	79	1.3	4,077	1.2	52						
Boatmen and sailors.....	102	1.7	2,907	0.8	29						
						Trade and transportation—Con.					
						Bookkeepers and accountants.....	77	1.3	4,909	1.4	64
						Clerks, stenographers, etc. ¹	387	6.4	10,132	2.9	26
						Commercial travelers.....	119	2.0	1,070	0.3	9
						Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.....	144	2.4	11,848	3.4	82
						Merchants and dealers.....	473	7.8	21,560	6.1	46
						Salesmen.....	150	2.5	7,976	2.3	53
						Steam railroad employees.....	228	3.8	12,144	3.4	53
						Street railway employees.....	55	0.9	1,481	0.4	27
						Telegraph and telephone operators.....	33	0.5	807	0.2	74
						All others in this class.....	89	1.5	8,384	2.4	94
						Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	2,221	36.8	146,911	41.6	66
						Bakers.....	54	0.9	2,572	0.7	48
						Blacksmiths.....	41	0.7	4,078	1.2	99
						Boot and shoe makers and repairers.....	76	1.3	4,362	1.2	57
						Butchers.....	73	1.2	3,567	1.0	49
						Carpenters and joiners.....	183	3.0	17,345	4.9	95
						Engineers and firemen (not locomotive).....	45	0.7	6,316	1.8	140
						Iron and steel workers.....	79	1.3	6,328	1.8	80
						Machinists.....	109	1.8	8,536	2.4	78
						Manufacturers and officials, etc.....	99	1.6	8,172	2.3	82
						Masons (brick and stone).....	63	1.0	5,189	1.5	82
						Miners and quarrymen.....	20	0.3	1,375	0.4	79
						Painters, glaziers, and varnishers.....	146	2.4	7,792	2.2	53
						Plumbers and gas and steam fitters.....	52	0.9	3,162	0.9	61
						Printers, lithographers, and pressmen.....	80	1.3	2,965	0.8	37
						Tailors.....	51	0.8	3,350	0.9	66
						Textile mill operatives ²	194	3.2	9,041	2.6	47
						Tobacco and cigar factory operatives.....	35	0.6	1,186	0.3	34
						All others in this class.....	821	13.6	51,415	14.6	63

¹ Includes clerks, copyists, stenographers, and typewriters.

² Includes carpet factory operatives, cotton mill operatives, hosiery and knitting mill operatives, silk mill operatives, woolen mill operatives, and "other textile mill operatives."

The figures in the last column of the above table, which give the ratio that the number of married males reported in each specified occupation at the census of 1900 bears to the number of males divorced in the same occupation, during the period 1887 to 1906, should not be understood as being divorce rates. For instance, the fact that at the census of 1900, 92 married farmers were enumerated to every farmer receiving a divorce during the period 1887 to 1906 does not mean that 1 farmer in 92 procured a divorce during

that period. In fact, the number of different men engaged in farming at one time or another during the 20 years must have greatly exceeded the number reported at the census of 1900. A closer approach to a rate would be obtained by making a comparison with the annual average number divorced. But in 18.9 per cent of the total number of divorces, the occupation of the husband was not reported, so that it is practically certain that not all the farmers who were divorced are included in the above total.

The ratios shown in the table have value, however, for comparative purposes. They probably afford some indication of the relative frequency of divorces in different occupational classes. It will be most convenient to consider the figures expressed in the last column of the table as the second term in a ratio, the first term of which is always 1. It then becomes the ratio of divorced husbands to married males. The popular impression that divorce is especially common among actors finds confirmation here; the ratio of actors, professional showmen, etc., divorced to married actors, etc., enumerated at the Twelfth Census being 1 to 6, which is the highest ratio shown in the table. Next come commercial travelers, for whom there was 1 divorce during the 20 years to every 9 married men reported in that occupation at the Twelfth Census. Musicians, physicians, bartenders, and telegraph and telephone operators have very nearly the same ratio—1 to 22, 23, or 24. The comparison indicates that

divorce is more frequent among physicians than among lawyers, and more frequent among the latter than among clergymen. For farmers the ratio, 1 to 92, is below the average; for laborers, not specified, it is about the same as for farmers; for agricultural laborers it is still lower. Other comparisons of interest will be apparent on inspection of the figures in the table; but it must be remembered that the data are incomplete, that the comparisons rest on a rather narrow basis, and that occupational terminology in general is not very exact. For instance, at the Twelfth Census, the enumerators were specially cautioned against returning a salesman as a "clerk." It is hardly probable that the officers making the record for the divorce court acted under any similar instructions, or under any general or uniform instructions whatever. The term "clerk" as used by them may have included many salesmen, and in the designation of other occupations an equal degree of uncertainty or vagueness may exist.